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DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

A call to courage

Following is the conclusion of a speech by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois delivered at New York's Town Hall, on Sept. 28 at a meeting entitled "The Right to Advocate Peace."

WHO ARE WE to lead the world to Peace and Righteousness? We whose nation is shot through with crime, graft and mob violence; who are driving decent Americans to jail, poverty and suicide; we whose "Un-American" inquisition against free speech and thought was headed by a thief and is now presided over by a Georgia statesman who holds office by 30,000 votes with 150,000 Negro workers disfranchised.

We not only abrogate our own Bill of Rights on the street and on the Bench, but send our arms and armies to help overthrow any people on earth who today fight to be free, and call to our aid the reactionary tyrannies in Spain, Turkey and Greece. Our effort to control the world by force of arms is as fantastic as it is evil. Our last desperate plan to restore colonial imperialism with the help of Germany and Japan is the craziest dream of a crazy age.

We who have known a better America find the present scene almost unbelievable. A great silence has fallen on the real soul of the nation. We are smearing decent citizens on the paid testimony of self-confessed liars, traitors and spies. We are refusing passports and visas to distinguished persons lest they tell the truth. We are making the voice of America the babble of cowards paid to travel.

Meantime our nation writhes in nameless fear, our workers groan under increasing prices and mounting taxes, our education lags, our crime grows, gambling, liquor and drugs spread, our democracy dies while our police, unable to apprehend murderers and thieves, arrest, handcuff and jail men and women whose crime is to demand Peace, no more War.

My words are not a counsel of despair, rather a call to new courage and determination to know the truth. Four times this nation has faced disaster and recovered: once at the end of the 18th century when we hesitated between separate independent colonies and a federated state; again when in the age of Jackson the democratic west overbore the oligarchical east; once more in the 19th century when human slavery cut the nation in two and we had to cement it with blood and hate. Finally, when in 1929 our industries fell into vast ruin which Roosevelt rescued and started to rebuild.

What we have done we can do. But not by silence, not by refusing to face the ugly facts.

Let's have a little more of this

The caption to this picture said that Vienna (where it was taken at the monthly ceremony marking the changeover of 4-power police control of the city) is the only place in the world where an American and a Russian officer shake hands. The boys are a little stiff, but the shake's the thing. We hope they'll keep on shaking until a lot of their superiors get the idea. It's a fine old custom.

WAR & PEACE

U.S. public apathy to war drive grows

SECY. Acheson was breathless and triumphant last week from his "considerable diplomatic activity" since Sept. 4 in refurbishing Hitler's Anti-Comintern Axis under new management: the Japanese treaty, the Big 3 meeting to speed German rearmament, the Ottawa Atlantic Pact gathering, the talks with Premier de Gasperi about scrapping the Italian peace treaty and rearming Italy.

As Washington's demand for stepped-up war preparations grew "faster and furiouser" (**Wall St. Journal**, Sept. 26), the public seemed to grow more and more apathetic. Worry over disinterest in "civil defense" was expressed by President Truman when he told a delegation of Odd Fellows in San Francisco he planned "an international Moral Re-Armament committee to rouse people out of their apathy to the war effort. In a talk to a group of Protestants the President said his efforts to line up the world's religious leaders behind his anti-Red crusade had failed.

The Pentagon's "crisis" blood drive, launched by Gen. Marshall three weeks ago, had fallen flat, meeting "public apathy in city after city" according to Scripps-Howard surveys. Pentagon efforts to lure reluctant citizens into armed service by "expensive radio broadcasts and big house ads in slick magazines" drew this jaundiced comment from columnist Robert Ruark:

> **The boys in Washington have cried doom at us until I am convinced there are Russians in the lobby as I write. . . . If the world is so fraught with peril . . . duty to country should be beyond the decision of the individual.**

Action, Paris

"Peaceful co-existence? You bet!"

THE PEOPLE DON'T KNOW: The **Daily Oklahoman** (Sept. 16), finding "the persistent effort of many potential soldiers to escape military duty . . . positively disturbing" and "the spirit of the people in 1951 . . . not what it was in 1942," offered this explanation:

> **It was not popular to try to evade military service in 1942. Apparently it is measurably popular in 1951. . . . In 1942 the people had no choice. . . . Every American knew that war had been forced upon the country by a powerful enemy. . . .**
>
> **But no foreign enemy has attacked the U. S. in 1951. No enemy, gun in hand, attacked the U. S. in 1950. Not a single American national had died at foreign hands when the war drums were set to dirling. The U. S. went to war deliberately and on its own motion. And when it went to war, many, many citizens could not see any reason at all for engaging in war.**
>
> **. . . Congress was never asked to approve a war declaration. Congress was sidestepped deliberately and emphatically. . . . We are fighting a major war that never has been declared officially. And millions of Americans are not in sympathy with the manner in which we were committed to the Korean conflict. In 1942 the people were confident that the war would end as soon as Japan had been defeated. . . . But in 1951 no one knows when the current war is going to end. The American people do not even know what country must be beaten before hostilities can cease.**

The **Wall St. Journal** (Sept. 26), noting the "confusion" and "concern" of our allies and the "mounting dismay" of Americans about the "defense program," saw the reason in Washington's failure to produce any evidence of "the probability of an imminent Soviet attack." Rep. Howard Buffett (R-Neb.) in a newsletter to constituents on Sept. 13, exposed the "Soviet aggression threat" as a hoax.

BUFFETT BARES A FRAUD: Recalling the great war scare of spring 1948, when the Administration beat the war drums and Congressmen whispered: "We will be at war with Russia in 30 days," Buffett recalled that the then Central Intelligence chief Adm. Hillenkoetter, in an off-the-record talk to Congressmen including himself,

> **. . . declared that signs of offensive war by Russia in the foreseeable future were completely lacking. Answering our questions, he detailed a mass of factual data from his secret sources indicating just the opposite situation. Developments since that time have proven his facts. . . .**
>
> **Hitler and Mussolini found the cry "The Russians are coming!" the perfect weapon with which to enslave their people. But now we know the real peril to those people was not in Moscow. It was in their own capital cities. Will we learn by their experience before it is too late?**

Publisher John Cowles, returning from a world tour, reported in **Look** (Oct. 9)

> **. . . much of the world suspecting that America has deserted her traditional role as a non-aggressive, peace-loving nation. . . . Many highly intelligent Europeans and Asians [who loathe Russia, fear that] the U. S. is going to blunder into war with Russia or that . . . we will ourselves precipitate war. It is difficult for Americans who have not recently talked with political and intellectual leaders in Europe and Asia to realize how widespread this view is. . . . Much of the world thinks that the U. S. has only one idea, that of confining Russian communism by military might. Many Europeans and Asians say we keep pressing for arms and more arms although every armament race in history has resulted in war.**

HOLES IN THE JAPAN TREATY: Cowles warned that the revolution of Asia "cannot now be suppressed by foreign bayonets," urged that we "rethink our whole policy to Asia." There was no evidence of such re-thinking in Washington, although the bloom was already off the Japanese "peace treaty."

Hopes for Indonesian ratification were doomed when that country's second largest party declared its opposition. In Japan itself, the **N.Y. Times** (Sept. 25) reported rising opposition to stationing of U.S. troops and bases there, quoted "some political circles" as believing the U. S. Security Pact would not be approved by the Diet. Premier Yoshida announced Japanese rearmament would have to wait upon economic stability—a warning to Washington that Japan's price for cooperation will be high.

In Korea: what next?

THE "suddenly arranged visit" to Japan and Korea of Chief of Staff Bradley and State Dept. "Russian expert" Bohlen foreshadowed new action of some sort in the Korean war. The press generally thought Bradley was mapping strategy for an all-out winter offensive should the suspended truce talks finally collapse. Hanson Baldwin (**N.Y. Times**) believed the Administration is ready for such an offensive rather than agree to the 38th Parallel as the demarcation line. The **Times** reported from Tokyo that training of U. S. troops in "atomic defense" had begun and would be completed by Oct. 15. Peking radio said U. S. forces

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THE MAIL BAG

Americanism—Douglas style

RENO, NEV.

Hon. William O. Douglas
Supreme Court of the U.S.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Justice:

As a former New Jersey State Senator, Past District Commander of the American Legion, and a progressive Republican, may I congratulate you upon:

1. Your vote and disssenting opinion regarding the constitutionality of the Smith Act (in the case of the accused Communists). Far more dangerous than any external attack upon American freedom is the insidious undermining of the rights of free speech—and a free press—which we are rapidly approaching.

2. Your recent comments concerning the recognition of Communist China and in particular, your "roaming all around the world and Asia and making fool statements." Maybe if some of your critics would do a little more roaming and learn the facts on the ground instead of through our propagandized press releases, they'd know more about what they were talking about.

Keep up the good work in the interests of real Americanism and not the brand that so many of our "patriots" use as a camouflage.

Dryden Kuser

The Rosenberg Case

MILL CITY, ORE.

You are to be congratulated on your series about the Rosenbergs. From what I have read so far, it definitely appears to be a frameup. I hope you will end the series with concise information on what to do to help these people. Ruth Stovall

•

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

I want to say for the ears of your excellent editors that to take up the so-called "spy" case of the Rosenbergs at this time is just right and certainly very urgent. An excellent piece of judgment.

T. S. Behre

•

PARIS, FRANCE

Enclosed please find a small contribution for the GUARDIAN and your campaign to get the Rosenbergs a fair and un-hysterical trial. To those of us abroad it is something of a shock to realize the extent to which things have gone among certain sections of the U.S.

At least the GUARDIAN, in startling us out of our inertia, can give us an opportunity to make some contribution towards a return to sanity and justice. With the sincere and heartfelt wish that this, added to thousands of other contributions, will help to accomplish what we all wish, who still care for reason—an end to the witch-hunt in the U.S. Rae Perlin

"All Quiet" with you?

BRONX, N. Y.

Recently I sent five dollars to you after receiving a request for financial aid. In return you mailed George Marion's **All Quiet in the Kremlin**, which I found, after reading, to be an uneven trade.

Enclosed find another $5 to make up the difference. And honestly, it is worth many times more.

I would like to get more copies and I wonder if there is a special price for bulk orders. I ask because I am planning to raise some money for this purpose and to send the books to religious leaders in my community. I would also enclose a short note asking them to read the important document on the U. S. S. R. since it is so vital to the peace interests of themselves and their congregations.

You might, perhaps, convey this thinking in your columns so that others may join in an undertaking of this kind. Harry Goldschlag

Reader Goldschlag is one of more than 10,000 active GUARDIAN supporters and contributors who received a letter about Aug. 1 inviting them to receive a complimentary copy of George Marion's important new book, "All Quiet in the Kremlin."

If you're one of those who got our August letter and who haven't taken us up on our offer, you can still do so. Somewhere among your unanswered mail you'll find our letter, along with a blue card already filled in with your name and address. All you have to do is check the box that says, "Yes, I'd like a complimentary copy of George Marion's new book," and mail it to us in the accompanying business reply envelope. Your free copy will follow shortly.

To readers who didn't receive such a letter: If we've overlooked some recent contribution of yours you're also entitled to a free copy of "All Quiet." Please let us know. Or, you may buy single copies of the book for $1.50 each through Guardian Buying Service. For special rates on bulk orders write to: Fairplay Publishers, 165 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y. Ed.

On American spies

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In the current issue of **Coronet** under the title "America Has Ace Spies, Too," Tris Coffin writes: "A few of the top officers . . . of the Central Intelligence Agency, final authority on information gathered by the military intelligence and other dpeartments. . . . are a number of one-time foreign correspondents."

William Oatis, for example?

Violet Gentian

Happy birthday!

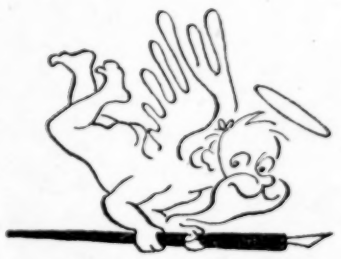
PALTO ALTO, CALIF.

I asked a friend what she would most like for a birthday gift. She answered, "a donation to the GUARDIAN." So here it is with heartfelt good wishes from us both. We cannot do without you.

In your issue of Sept. 5 you mentioned the Japanese treaty pamphlet published by the Palo Alto Peace Club. I would like your readers to know that the pamphlets cost 5c a piece, or 3c a piece for 100 or more, plus postage. They can order from me.

Valeda J. Bryant
815 Middlefield Rd.

P. S.: Christmas is only 82 days away. Why not start thinking about giving the GUARDIAN for Christmas. Ed.



He's at it again

KETCHUM, OKLA.

Yes, Harry is at it again with another of his periodical outbursts—this time condemning the Russian constitution. Will our President ever learn to uphold the dignity of his high office? Remember the British did not like our Constitution. We cannot expect to avert a global conflict, if we persist in insulting fully one-half the world's population. A modern war in this atomic age would certainly not better secure our "way of life." The 16 nations now helping us in Korea are ample proof of their impotency as a fighting unit.

B. F. Liggett

Where old horses go

JAMAICA, N. Y.

"The U. of Chicago's industrial relations center is helping Republic Steel to teach economics to workers. Republic employees will take an examination including these questions: Can increased wages be paid out of profits? Is a salary of $100,000 more than anyone is worth? Should wages be increased as fast as productivity increases? The correct answers, according to the university and the steel firm, are No, No, and No."

This horse-laugh culled from the papers leads me to the conclusion that old horses from Belmont no longer go to a glue factory, but join the Chicago U. faculty.

Ruby Seltzer

A Republic of Labor

MONTEZUMA, IOWA

There was something new under the sun at the San Francisco "Peace Conference." Back in the old days of American history annexed islands and countries were mere political colonies. Although the natives of annexed islands have never been consulted as to their choice of forms of government, they at least were allowed nominal independence. At San Francisco American capitalism entered a sly career of aggressive imperialism. The motto of capitalism ("We must expand or die") was faithfully adhered to and, having lost out in Korea, it was absolutely necessary to find a new military and imperial springboard in Japan from which capitalism could drain off Asia's wealth.

The Peace Treaty at San Francisco is a startling revelation of the Silent Ruler at work; for when a weak state has to depend on a major foreign power for its revenues, the people automatically lose their sovereignty and become pawns in the hands of a foreign oligarchy. This world-wide scourge, created because of the unjust wage system by the czars of industry, is a monster which must be exterminated by a national and international organization of the working class, the goal of which is the complete abandonment of the political state, and the establishment of a new Republic of Labor.

Mrs. L. B. Dexter

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REPORT TO READERS

The big bad worry that wasn't even there

WE ARE INDEBTED to a reader whose name is familiar to these pages—A. Garcia Diaz—for some comments on the American press by James Fenimore Cooper (**The Leatherstocking Tales**) dating back more than 100 years.

Like Britain's Charles Dickens in the same period, Cooper took a dim view of what had developed out of the Colonists' provisions for a "free press." He found that instead of a free institution there had been created

. . . a tyranny of a character so unsupportable that a change of some sort is getting to be indispensable to peace.

One of the offenses of the American press, to Cooper, was its technique of stirring public opinion. Of this he wrote:

When it is wished to induce the public to think in a particular way, the first step is to affect that such is already the common sentiment, in the expectation that the deference to the general impression will bring about the desired end.

WHETHER the same criticisms Cooper and Dickens made of the American press of 125 years ago or so still apply today, we leave you to judge with respect to your own local newspapers. But whether the particular technique referred to by Cooper still abides is scarcely in doubt. However, there must be added this speculation, namely: Does it still work?

The Gallup Poll of last week contains a partial answer. Dr. Gallup's pollsters went out among the public on the general subject of worry, assuming that everyone was worried about something. They wanted to know what. Here's the way it came out:

Money—high cost of living, prices, paying bills, etc.	**45%**
War—threat of world war, keeping the peace	**21**
Personal—health, health of family, children	**17**
Politics—way country is being run, govt. waste, spending	**7**
Security—no job, keeping a job, business conditions	**4**
Foreign Affairs—Russia, spread of communism	**1**
Miscellaneous worries	**4**
Don't know	**1**
No worries	**5**
	105%

(The extra 5% indicates people who voiced more than one principle worry.)

HOW account for this strange result? With all the drum-beating, sword-rattling and witch-hunting by press and radio, with all the official lying, distortion and censorship of facts people need to understand other people, the public is still only 1% concerned over "Russian imperialism," the "Red menace," foreign affairs generally.

In brief, the public refuses to succumb to the Forrestal delusion, even though it is now national policy hammered away at daily in thousands of words people can hardly avoid reading or hearing.

This, we submit, is a testimonial indeed to the balance-wheel role of the million unswerving progressives of America, helping to keep the mental mechanism of the nation generally on the beam.

It will take a lot more effort to make this mechanism work for its own salvation from its main worries—high prices, the threat of war and how to win peace.

A few more GUARDIAN readers might help. Have you signed up any new ones lately? Why not? Or don't you think it might help?

THE EDITORS

Who?

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

I have just tuned in on the future and got the official election returns of the 1952 Presidential race. Hold your breath—here we go:

Joseph McCarthy	30,000,000
Progressive candidate	20,000,000
Harry S. Truman	10,000,000

P. O.

Check!

SULLIVAN, IND.

The highest patriotism is standing firm for what we believe honestly to be for the best interests of our country. Norval K. Harris

Jail 'em all!

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

An Open Letter to President Truman. Dear Mr. President:

This is to congratulate you and Atty. Gen. McGrath upon your forthright action in locking up the Communist leaders. We know there are many others who hold similar ideas (public works, civil rights, price controls, job security, even socialism), but who do not belong to the CP. These must, of course, be jailed too.

There are people who do not wholeheartedly support our noble effort to preserve democracy in Asia. Mr. Gallup says over half the population feels this way. And how about these church groups which pray for peace, apparently disregarding completely what would happen to business if peace should break out? These are obviously just "front" organizations and must be smashed; by jailing if they persist. We must not allow ourselves to be tricked into peace!

You have made a commendable start, Mr. President, but we must urge that the Bill of Rights be denied not only to Communists but to all others who disagree; that we deny the existence of China and all other countries which persist in holding concepts different from ours, and that we immediately atom-bomb any country which dares to talk about disarmament or spreads peace propaganda.

Joe Doe

P. S.: I would like to sign my right name, but yesterday I heard Sen. Mundt accuse you of leftist associations, and I wouldn't want to be charged with writing to a radical.

Listening, Mr. Murray?

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.

I receive the GUARDIAN and CIO News in the same mail. After glancing through the CIO News with its red-baiting and war mongering, I really enjoy reading the GUARDIAN from front to back, even the ads.

Paul Au[illegible]

It's a hoax

CHICAGO, ILL.

I do not believe for a moment that the Bentley creature told the truth in "frankly admitting" to having been "a spy". The "admission" was part of what she was paid for, for the purpose of trying to make the public believe that the progressive movement includes "spies". Everybody who has been in the Communist Party, or any non-revolutionary progressive organization, knows that they include no such things as "spies", "couriers", and the rest of it. They are 100% inventions of the diseased minds behind the drive to fascism in this country. W. B.

U.S. public apathy to war drive grows

(Continued from Page 1)

planned to bomb Manchuria, land on both coasts of Korea above present battle lines.

During the MacArthur hearings, Bradley stated more bluntly than any other military leaders the impossibility of a U.S. victory in Korea, and that it was "the wrong war." During his visit, U.S. field commander Van Fleet issued a communique seeking to justify the costly losses of recent offensives (latest week's casualty figure of 2,112 was the highest since June 27; North Korea claimed Ridgway's losses were 60,300 between Aug. 25 and Sept. 25).

"HUGE DIFFICULTIES": Unimpressed with Van Fleet's statement woven of "embellished adjectives and replaced facts," the **Times'** Baldwin wrote (Oct. 2):

> **The problem then, if cease-fire negotiations fail, is what is next in Korea. Regardless of what he [the enemy] does, sooner or later the compulsion of 4,000 to 6,000 U.S. casualties a month demands a reassessment, which is apparently being made now. . . . This could involve not only UN bombings of enemy bases in Manchuria, blockade of coastal China, a general attack by the 8th Army, but also an amphibious and airborne "end run" to trap large enemy forces. . . . The difficulties, however, would be huge . . . [Yet] the American people are confused, and, if blood donations are an index, apathetic.**

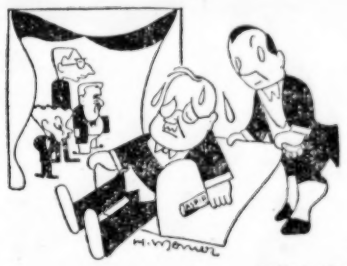
The attitude of Washington's European allies to the conduct of the "UN" truce talks from which they were excluded was expressed in an editorial in the London **Times**, Oct. 1:

> **The ostensible aim to create a united, independent and democratic Korean Republic is no longer possible. The only practical solution is to accept a divided Korea, with the 38th Parallel as the dividing line.**

Minneapolis Tribune

THE ULTIMATE WEAPON

"Just push this little button, see!—World goes poof!—No more armies, air fleets! No more world wars, see! In fact—no more world!"



Action, Paris

PRESIDENT AUR'OL: "How many times must I tell you who's Premier! It's Petsche and Mayer on even days, Pleven, Queuille, Reynaud on odd."

Italy coming to the boil

IN Europe every one of Washington's allies was wracked by economic and political crisis. To Italy, de Gasperi brought from Washington promises—of release from economic, military and moral restrictions in the peace treaty, for getting Italy into the UN, for "an increased flow of investments," for arms orders for his factories, for aid in solving "over-population." But on the question of Trieste (promised Italy in March, 1948, by the Big Three as part of their successful effort to buy the Italian elections) he was admonished to negotiate with Tito, now also a Washington favorite. The outcome of the talks

> **. . . created a painful impression on the Italians who read it. . . . The consensus is that Dr. de Gasperi will go through some very difficult times when he returns to Italy (N.Y. Times, Sept. 26).**

In the week de Gasperi was away, almost 2,000,000 civil servants went on strike for higher wages for the third time in four months. All three trade union confederations cooperated in the strike which in some towns and provinces was 100% effective. In the province of Rome thousands of peasants in scores of villages and towns again began seizing the land. The base of the government was crumbling.

FRANCE: The Pleven government was paralyzed, the Assembly "impossible to manage" (N.Y. **Times**, Sept. 23) and the political situation more confused than at any time since the liberation. Government employes and other workers refused to be satisfied with the 12% wage increase voted by the government; the franc was at its lowest point of the year, rumors of devaluation were rife.

The French note to Moscow, in answer to the Soviet charge that France was violating the Franco-Soviet pact in consenting to German rearmament, suggested the re-opening of four-power talks through UN.

WEST GERMANY: The Adenauer Cabinet was forced by popular pressure to reconsider its attitude—in effect a rejection—to the East German unity proposal. The N.Y. **Times** (Sept. 26) reported "the tide of political opinion running strongly in favor of a positive answer" to the East German offers.

BRITAIN: The Labour Party conference opened at Scarborough in an atmosphere of gloom over election prospects. The **Times** reported Oct. 2:

> **It was obvious . . . the Bevan wing commanded far more support among the rank and file than any voting thus far had shown. There was widespread uneasiness in the party not only over the cost of rearmament, but over U.S. leadership in Britain's diplomacy, the rising cost of living and, above all, the danger of war.**

But the Labour Party split was temporarily muted until after elections. (Gordon Schaffer will analyze the election background in next week's GUARDIAN).

Iran: oil fight before UN

ANGLO-IRANIAN's Abadan oil refinery, largest in the world, passed into Iranian hands last week when Iranian soldiers, not waiting the expiration of an ultimatum to the last 300 British technicians to get out, took control. The British government, afraid to use force in a country protected by treaty with the U.S.S.R. and in a section of the world seething with developing revolutions, bowed to the inevitable but took its case to the Security Council, which by a vote of 9 to 2 (U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia opposing) decided it was competent to act.

Vie Nuove, Rome

"I guess that must be the American mediator's suggestion to ensure a satisfactory compromise."

Britain's Sir Gladwyn Jebb in the Council's opening debate presented an elaborate defense of the white man's burden. Debate was then postponed until Oct. 11 to permit Iran's Premier Mossadegh to present his country's case in person, if he wishes. The U.S.S.R. will certainly support Iran, veto any Council action against it; but the British move was at least a stout effort to dress the window for the coming British elections.

Henry Wallace joins Chiang-loving bee

PRESIDENT Truman and ex-Vice President Henry A. Wallace—fired from Truman's Cabinet in 1946 for opposing the cold war—struck a joint blow last week by insisting both are just as anti-Communist as their critics. In reply to charges by ex-Communist Louis Budenz before Sen. Pat McCarran's (D-Nev.) subcommittee on internal security, that Wallace was "guided" along the Communist Party line by two State Dept. officials during his China mission in 1944, the President himself made public Wallace's official recommendations of the time.

In a letter to President Truman accompanying the documents, Wallace wrote that had FDR replaced Gen. Joseph Stilwell by Albert C. Wedemeyer when Wallace first urged it, "the chances are good that the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek) would have been ruling China today." Wallace asserted that his recommendations were "the opposite" of "pro-Communism."

OUT OF PURGATORY? To I. F. Stone, political commentator for the N.Y. **Daily Compass**, this seemed to be using a smear to dodge a smear:

> **One of the ways to buy safety in an inquisition is to denounce someone else. There is more than a hint of this tactic in the way the memory of Gen. Stilwell is being smeared in Wallace's struggle to reestablish his respectability.**

For Stone, there were some questions about the new role of Wallace, who broke with the Progressive Party in August, 1950, because of its opposition to the war in Korea:

> **Does this mark the finish of Wallace's stay in political purgatory? Will he be campaigning for Truman in 1952? Will**

(Continued on Page 4)

PEACE

Support snowballs for Dr. DuBois

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS, renowned Negro scholar whose trial on charges of advocating peace without registering as a foreign agent was postponed last week from October 3 to November 1, wound up a speaking tour at a New York Town Hall meeting on Friday. Typically, he used the time allotted him not to speak of his own case but to analyze the world situation which makes it possible to present the search for peace as a criminal activity. Denouncing as "false and illogical" the propaganda on a scale that puts Hitler to shame" that "Russian imperialism" is starting a third world war, he said:

> **"The Soviets want peace. They need peace. . . . The real causes of world war will persist so long as Europe and America are determined by means of cheap labor to control the wealth of most of the world. . . . The spread of communism has in no case been by force but in self-defense against the armies of Western Europe; or in the revolt of the workers of Poland and the Balkans after century-long betrayal by the West. American exploiters and overlords drove the Chinese peasants straight into the arms of communism. The same thing will happen in Africa, the West Indies, Southeast Asia and South America, unless this vast reservoir of world wealth becomes a source of peace and plenty instead of perpetual incentive for greed to wage war."**

DEMOCRATS JOIN FIGHT: In Denver Dr. and Mrs. DuBois (Shirley Graham) had spoken at the first meeting sponsored by an NAACP chapter since his indictment. (NAACP passed a resolution protesting the indictment at its June convention in Atlanta). GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren reported from Denver:

> **They took the city by storm. Old-timers here tell me that people showed up who have been out of sight since the Wallace campaign. The DuBois' met with leaders of the Colorado Young Democrats, the American Civil Liberties Union chapter, Urban League, ADA and Latin American Council, who after hearing them report on their activity as peace advocates asked: "What can we do to help?" Their 2½-hour press conference resulted in friendly articles in the Denver press. They were honored guests at a reception attended by 200 Denverites. Their appearance in the New Hope Baptist Church drew 2,000 to the largest progressive mass meeting here since 1948, chaired by Denver NAACP pres. W. F. Turner. The enthusiastic audience affirmed the "right of all citizens to fight for equal civil rights throughout the world," declared themselves "unalterably opposed to such methods by any governmental instrumentality to silence spokesmen for full equality for Negroes." When they left, plans were set in motion for a committee of outstanding Denverites to defend DuBois against the indictment.**

A group of Young Democrats invited Mrs. DuBois to lunch at the Denver Democratic Club, where after she gave them the facts of the case they held that

> **. . . our nation will be held up to scorn if this sort of thing is allowed to stand and we feel it our duty to clean things up.**

MORE PROTESTS: In Detroit the general council of Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers, CIO, largest in the world, adopted a resolution "affirming our faith in this great American, in his integrity and loyalty." In Durham, N.C., the two-months-old People's Peace and Goodwill Council launched a campaign urging endorsement of the NAACP resolution on DuBois at an interracial picnic on the Mt. Zion Baptist Church lawn. The picnickers also wrote postcards to President Truman urging all efforts toward a speedy cease-fire in Korea and toward a five-power agreement to prevent a third world war.

In London the South East Asia Committee at a special meeting passed a resolution, directed to the U.S. Embassy and to UN Secy.-Gen. Lie, recognizing DuBois' "lifetime devoted to scholarship, social action, justice and human well-being," protesting his indictment as having "roused the feelings of all those who care for human decency and respect for honorable old age."

HEALTH, BUSINESS & PEACE: Doctors and health specialists from most countries of the world met in Rome over the week-end at an Intl. Medical Conference to discuss medical science developments in relation to peace, the obstacles put in its way by blocking of cultural exchanges, and the harmful effects of war preparations on health. The international commission sponsoring the conference grew out of exchanges of views on these matters between French and Italian doctors.

Preparations were well advanced for a World Economic Conference in Moscow before the end of the year, to be held on the invitation of the Soviet Peace Committee. About 300 businessmen, industrialists, economists, unionists, farmers, scientists and others are expected from all over the world for a frank exchange of views with their East European and Chinese opposite numbers on ways to improve the current world trade situation.

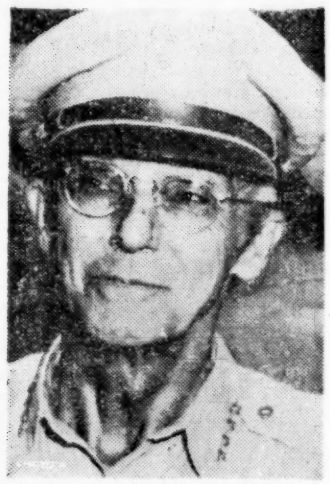
Leading business and industrial figures in most Western countries have already accepted the invitation, including several in Canada which has two members on the international sponsoring committee — Toronto lumber dealer, active church and temperance worker A. D. McLean and Trade Union Research Bureau head Emil Bjarnason.

(Continued from Page 3)

Truman, always shrewd on the political plane, add Henry Wallace and the MacArthur firing to his recent speeches on civil liberties to corral the liberal vote?

One thing was clear: Wallace and Budenz could not both be right. Earlier columnist Joseph Alsop cited glaring discrepancies in Budenz' testimony, charged the committee itself had "led" him into "testifying as he did." On Sept. 14 Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.) called for a Senate investigation of McCarran's subcommittee, but was blocked from inserting the Alsop charges in the Congressional Record. Ten days later he got the material into the record, but failed to renew his demand for an investigation. In the meantime Ted O. Thackrey, editor of the **Compass**, spelled the whole thing out as perjury, publicly invited Budenz to sue. Budenz made no reply. Last week it was reported that Budenz would "probably" be recalled by the subcommittee.

A BLAST FROM LAMONT: The Budenz incident was only the latest of several. Earlier this month Corliss Lamont



GEN. JOSEPH STILWELL
The dead stay young

wrote a second letter to Sen. McCarran insisting that his denial of false charges against him go in the record:

It seems to me that your subcommittee is constantly encouraging the violation of the Ninth Commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." It is turning representative government into government by misrepresentation. It is causing the American people to lose faith in their democratic institutions and is thereby doing more to undermine the political system of the U.S. than all the Communists who have ever existed in this country.

McCarran at first blustered that he had never heard of Corliss Lamont, later backed down, inserted both letters in the record.

But the subcommittee was still making its own way. On Aug. 29 McCarran produced a war scare:

"This country is faced with the inevitable, all-out war. To alert America to the danger is the duty of this subcommittee."

Then he demanded an appropriation of $195,000 to last through Jan. 1953. Last week the Senate Rules Committee obliged with a pleasing "compromise": it voted the McCarran subcommittee $117,000 to carry it through June 1952.

THE JESSUP CIRCUS: By its work the committee was producing side-shows, with Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisc.) getting into the act. Because he had once been associated with the Institute of Pacific Relations, which the McCarran group is currently "investigating," Ambassador at Large Philip C. Jessup had been smeared. Last week McCarthy turned up before another committee to oppose confirmation of Jessup as a U.S. delegate to the UN. Committee members refuted McCarthy's "evidence," but he promised to continue the attack.

Meanwhile McCarthy himself drew fire from his own colleagues. Sen Benton (D-Conn.) demanded his expulsion from the Senate for perjury and nine other charges.

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Use old GUARDIANS to win new subscribers. Mail them to your friends. A simple, open-end wrapp r and a 1c stamp will do the job.

CHICAGO

Cicero indictments raise hailstorm

CHICAGO editors were deluged last week with letters from readers outraged by grand jury indictments in the Cicero riot case. Naming not one of the mobsters in last July's three-day riot in which an apartment house was wrecked after Negro bus-driver Harvey Clark Jr. tried to move in, the grand jury indicted Mrs. Camille DeRose, former owner of the building, Clark's NAACP-appointed lawyer and three others for "conspiracy" to depreciate property values by renting to a Negro.*

The Illinois Civil Rights Congress had ironically asked why Clark himself was not indicted. GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordower learned last week that in fact the grand jury took eight votes on indicting Clark and three times missed out by one vote.

McGRATH PLEDGES A PROBE: Organized efforts to overturn the indictments and see justice done to the mobsters and those who incited them gathered momentum. In Washington, after a meeting with a group representing the Chicago Council against Racial and Religious Discrimination, Atty. Gen. McGrath announced that a federal grand jury would investigate the riots to determine whether the rights of any individual had been violated. In Chicago the jury that returned the indictments was discharged. The NAACP called a protest meeting in the Parkway Ballroom at which Secy. Walter White was expected to speak. A Citizens Committee headed by ace Negro disc-jockey Al Benson and Chicago Urban League pres. Earl B. Dickerson met to plan a Coliseum mass meeting and draft a "minimum action program around which all can function united." Cicero Local 453, CIO Auto Workers, took the initiative in calling together trade unionists for action.

The Chicago Council for Labor Unity called on Illinois Gov. Stevenson to use his influence to quash the indictments, to appoint a special interracial prosecutors' team to seek indictments against Joseph Beauharnais and his race-hate-inciting White Circle League, and for impeachment of State's Atty. Boyle. The Progressive Party was set to circulate petitions asking the Chief Justice of the Criminal Court to investigate whether Boyle had been guilty of "malfeasance and misfeasance" in office. The riot and its sequel were to be a major agenda item of the PP state convention in Farm Equipment Workers Hall at the week-end. The Chicago Area

Council of the American Veterans Committee urged Boyle to step aside for a special prosecutor to re-examine the case before a new grand jury.

"A SERIES OF COLONIES": When a trade union delegation visited Boyle to demand that he quash the "conspiracy" indictments against the five and ask for a special prosecutor to move against Beauharnais, Boyle refused and made it clear he was not opposed to the indictments.

The five were ordered arraigned Oct.

* GUARDIAN (Sept. 26) erred in reporting that Norman Silverman was indicted separately for distributing "End Mob Rule in Cicero" leaflets three weeks after the riot. He was arrested on that charge at that time, but indicted with the other four for "conspiracy" when a cop "identified" him as one of the riot instigators.

All the HOGS are not in the STOCKYARDS
PROGRESSIVE PARTY demands:
20% ROLLBACK of MEAT PRICES NOW
we're BEEFING about HIGH BEEF PRICES
PACKERS' PROFITS up 62%
O.P.S. gives them MORE!

"All the hogs are not in the stockyards"
That's what one sign said in the picket line formed by these harried housewives in Newark, N. J., outside the Armour and Swift meat plants. The demonstration was led by Ruth Lerner (second from left, front row), Progressive Party candidate for state senator from Essex Co., and included PP candidates for Assembly.

9. Mrs. DeRose told newsmen:

"This case demonstrated that we are living in a series of colonies. If I had known Negroes were to be barred, I would have asked the Cicero city fathers for colony flags and asked the tenants to fly them."

Arraignment of Cicero police chief Erwin Konovsky, who was also indicted by the grand jury on the minor charge of misconduct in office, was set for Oct. 3. Konovsky posted as bail a $40,000 real estate bond on a Berwyn, Ill., building which he said is owned by a "boyhood friend," Otto Kalivoda, vice-pres. of Riley Steel Products Co. of Cicero. Said Konovsky:

"I accept the indictment without quibble or quarrel. . . . The findings of the grand jury tend to bear out our contention that, in spite of warnings, a certain group sought to create a racial tension on which they could capitalize. The fact that it happened in Cicero does not mean that we have any racial prejudice as such."

FARM

Iowa FU solid for Stover and peace

AT its 1950 convention the Iowa Farmers Union won the wrath of its own national office for its stand on foreign policy and its opposition to the Truman program. A dissident group, encouraged by the national office, which had made a bid for the leadership and lost out in a long court battle, lost out again at the 1951 convention in Des Moines last week. Fred W. Stover, noted for militancy on farm issues and for his fight for peace, was re-elected state president without opposition.

His chief opponent in the state not only failed to attend the convention but was ruled a non-member for non-payment of dues. National pres. James Patton also stayed away, sent a representative who made no mention of internal differences. But the Des Moines **Sunday Register**, long a foe of Stover policies, suggested that "anti-Stoverites" would

. . . try to gain control in the next few months [and] enter a slate of anti-Stover candidates in the 1952 state convention.

FIRE-FIGHTING STANDS: Meanwhile 1951's convention was on record with this unanimous statement of aims:

In place of a costly program that can only spread the flames of war and lead to a military dictatorship at home, we propose a positive program of peace — a program to strengthen democracy and protect our civil rights, to achieve full parity for the farmers and maintain our families on the land, to stop inflation and to defend our cooperatives.

The 126 delegates voted for these measures:

- **A $3,500,000,000 program to aid family farmers, prevent their removal from the land.**
- **Price floors of full 100% parity.**
- **Prompt development of a Missouri Valley Authority.**
- **A graduated land tax, covering use as well as ownership.**
- **Repeal of the Taft-Hartley, Smith and McCarran acts.**
- **Dismissal of "foreign agent" indictments against Negro leader Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and four others for their work in the Peace Information Center.**
- **Defense of Sol Hertz, a New York FU leader, now under threat of deportation under the McCarran Act.**

FARMERS ON THE BRINK: The convention found farmers faring poorly under the Truman government:

Literally hundreds of thousands of farmers are now getting along on such a narrow margin of safety that crop failures, a drop in farm prices or even serious illness in the family would mean that they can no longer continue. Family farm living and operations costs continue to creep higher and higher; taxes are hiked; rents are increased; land prices are boosted, but the price of farm commodities lags.

Stover in his report said:

"The same forces which urged the elimination of several million farms are directing the present foreign policy which threatens to plunge us into war. Our first and most important job is to stop the drive toward war."

UNITED NATIONS

Lie flouts tribunal in staff firings

TWO discharged UN employes backed by their staff association have not yet finished their fight for fair labor practices at UN (GUARDIAN, Sept. 5). Early last month the Administrative Tribunal (UN's "supreme court") rebuked Secy. Gen. Lie's administrative "absolutism" when it revoked the arbitrary firing of Syrian Raja Fares Hawrani and of Mary Jane Keeney, American employe discharged after the Un-American Activities Committee called her a "communist courier." Without going into the charges of "union busting" the tribunal upheld on technical grounds the firing of three other employes, all of whom had been leaders of the staff association.

Under UN regulations Lie did not have to reinstate Mrs. Keeney and Hawrani, but should give them back pay as fixed by the tribunal. Last week Lie decided that rehiring them would be "inadvisable" and for that reason they could not collect back pay. The two have requested another tribunal hearing to decide their claim to salaries for seven months since their dismissal.

THE ROSENBERG CASE—VII

Death: A sentence 'too cruel and too horrible' —unprecedented and illegal in the bargain

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special reporter

LAST April, in sentencing Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death in the electric chair on charges of entering into an atomic espionage conspiracy in 1944-45, Judge Irving Kaufman told the convicted defendants:

"Your crime is worse than murder. Plain, deliberate, contemplated murder is dwarfed in magnitude by comparison with the crime you have committed.

". . . I believe your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused the Communist aggression in Korea with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 Americans, and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country. No one can say that we do not live in a constant state of tension. We have evidence of your treachery all around us every day—for the civilian defense activities throughout the nation are aimed at preparing us for an atom bomb attack.

". . . In the light of the circumstances, I feel that I must pass such sentence upon the principals in this diabolical conspiracy to destroy a God-fearing nation, which will demonstrate with finality that this nation's security must remain inviolate. . . ."

This was the rationalization for imposition by a civil court—for the first time in this country's history, either in peace or war—of the death sentence on a charge of espionage.

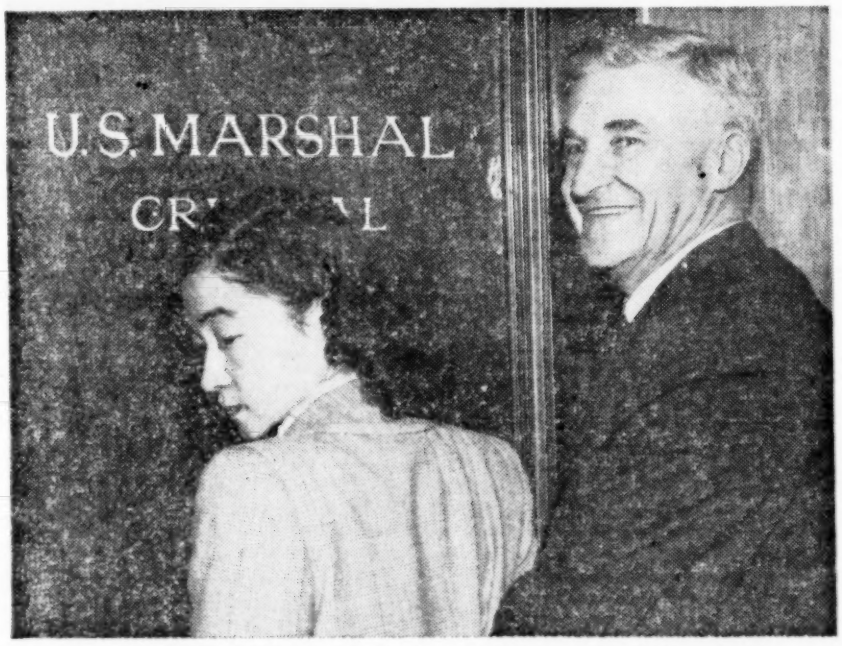
REFLECTING HYSTERIA: The Jewish **Daily Forward,** which accepted without challenge the judge's statements as to the Rosenbergs' guilt, nevertheless found the sentence "too horrible" and "too cruel." It probably spoke for the whole Jewish community of America when it added that "every Jew feels the same way," but it is now apparent that—without any means of disputing Judge Kaufman's tirade against the young New York couple—a far vaster segment of America finds the sentence too cruel and horrible.

Most compelling argument against the sentence is that the judge's pronouncements in passing it were not a statement of trial evidence; nor did the sentence reflect—as a federal district court decision has stated a sentence should reflect—a "careful, humane and comprehensive consideration . . . to the circumstances contemporary to the offense." Calling the sentence "unjust," **The Sentinel,** American-Jewish national magazine published in Chicago, said Kaufman "was carried away to an extent by the hysteria which has overtaken our country." In fact Kaufman's pronouncements were a summing-up of the hysteria and misinformation on which the Administration has relied for the past five years to warp the public mind into accepting a war-profits economy and even war itself.

BURIED FACTS: In successive articles over the past two months, NATIONAL GUARDIAN has presented an array of facts tending to show that the Rosenbergs are at the very least entitled to the granting of their appeal for freedom, because of reasonable doubt and because no corroborative proof of their participation in any spy conspiracy whatsoever was produced. Furthermore the GUARDIAN has endeavored to present at least a circumstantial case that they are victims of a political frame-up designed to convince the public that Communists, or people who can be so labeled, are by their very existence a danger to the country's security and the people's safety (the McCarran Act contention.)

But even assuming that the Rosenbergs did participate in such a plot, the judge's statement justifying the death sentence falls apart factually when viewed against the historical facts; and the sentence itself becomes not only cruel and horrible but ridiculous and illegal to boot.

A STUDY IN CONTRASTS: Of the 12 "overt acts" charged against the Rosenbergs, the first occurred in June, 1944; the last in Jan. 1945. The savagery o. the sentence, if it may in any conceivable way be justified, can be understood only in terms of the political climate six years after the commission of the "crime." Death for the crime the Rosenbergs allegedly committed is unthinkable had they been brought to trial at the time it allegedly was committed, when the Soviet Union was a war ally. **But even for aiding an enemy in World War II, no individual was sentenced to death.**



Tokyo Rose and the smiling marshal

For treason in wartime, proven beyond a shadow of doubt, Iva Toguri D'Aquino (Tokyo Rose) got a sentence of ten years. Axis Sally, who did the same job for the Nazis as Rose did for the Japanese, got off with the same sentence.

In the wartime spy case known as U.S. vs. Molzahn, four men who gave vital aircraft secrets to Germany in the fall of 1941 were let off with 5- to 15-year sentences. "Axis Sally" and Tokyo Rose"—against each of whom was presented a mountain of evidence showing they had actively worked for an enemy in wartime, and against each of whom was absolutely proven treason, the greatest crime chargeable against a citizen in relation to his own government—were each sentenced to ten years' imprisonment. (With time off for good behavior, both will be free before the Rosenbergs' appeals have been exhausted.)

These were the sentences imposed in the other Soviet "atomic spy" cases in the cold-war period (all except Rose and May confessed to the charges):

Fred Rose, Canadian MP convicted in Canada, 1946—6 years.

Dr. Raymond O. Boyer, convicted in Canada, 1948—? years.

Allan Nunn May, British physicist, convicted in Britain, 1946—10 years.

Dr. Klaus Emil Julius Fuchs, German-born British physicist, apparently the real "arch-conspirator" known as "Julius" referred to by witnesses in the Rosenberg Case, convicted in England in 1950—14 years (but still working on scientific experiments for the British Government).

Harry Gold, confessed spy since 1933—30 years (eligible for parole in perhaps 10 years).

Alfred Dean Slack and David Greenglass, who both confessed to giving secret material to Gold—15 years (eligible for parole in 8 years).

Ruth Greenglass, self-confessed mercenary spy like her husband—never indicted.

WAS THERE A SECRET? Moreover there is one basically significant aspect of the sentence of death imposed on the Rosenbergs. It deals with the kind of information supposedly given to the U.S.S.R., if their guilt be assumed.

In cases involving espionage the burden is on the prosecution, as our courts have held, to prove that information transmitted is "secret." When information already "has been made public property," there is no offense in transmitting it to a foreign power.

In a speech last January before the New York City Bar Assn., Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, foremost U.S. authority on atomic weapons—as reported in the N.Y. **Times**—

". . . declared that there were no "unpublished" secrets concerning atomic weapons, and no "secret laws of nature" available to only a few.

WHERE WERE THE EXPERTS? Referring to testimony given by David Greenglass pertaining to the A-bomb sketches and notes he allegedly gave to the Rosenbergs for the U.S.S.R., **Time** magazine explained:

The spies on trial could not be convicted without proof that they had given real and vital secrets to the Russians.

Greenglass drew a sketch in court and gave a long oral description of the information he allegedly gave Rosenberg. Although the burden was on the government to prove the accuracy and validity as well as the secrecy of the Greenglass sketch and description, a liaison man with the Atomic Energy Comm. was the only person produced by the government to testify that they to any "substantial degree" reflected the actual construction of the bomb.

This point of view found no acceptance from any informed quarter. **Time** commented that "some of his [Greenglass'] testimony made little scientific sense," and that Greenglass' bomb was not "up to date, complete or accurate," after pointing out "the general principle of an atom bomb has been no secret."

"ILLOGICAL, UNWORKABLE": To the science editor of **Life,** "Greenglass' implosion bomb appears illogical, if not downright unworkable." **Scientific American** also refused to take seriously the Rube Goldberg contraption solemnly introduced by the prosecution through Greenglass. This authoritative publication's lengthy article on the Greenglass bomb began:

History's most elaborately guarded secret—how to make an atomic bomb—was casually let out of the bag in a courtroom last month. Or was it?

The **Scientific American** article contained this biting—and highly revealing—comment:

What the newspapers failed to note was that without quantitative data and other necessary accompanying information the Greenglass bomb was not much of a secret.

Thus the sketch which the Rosenbergs were accused of sending to the U.S.S.R. was not only "illogical" and "unworkable" but it was "not much of a secret" according to the best authorities to judge the evidence in the case.

UNHEEDED WARNINGS: The contention of "secrecy" concerning atomic information has been the most assiduously-planted propaganda of the cold war. It runs directly counter to the testimony in 1945 of scientists most closely associated with atomic development, such as Harold C. Urey, Oppenheimer, Huxley in England and others who pleaded with the public and the Allied governments to understand that there existed no basic atomic secrets. They warned then that atom bombs could be built by any nation, that the only protection against atomic war was international outlawing of atomic weapons and destruction of stockpiles.

In the Summer, 1945, issue of the **Journal of Physics of the U.S.S.R.,** Soviet physicist Veksler published a paper describing two of the key devices underlying the principles of atomic explosion. This was at the time of, or prior to, the New Mexico atomic tests and the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Why the Soviets did not themselves develop an atomic bomb for use in World War II may be a matter for humanist and scientific instead of military speculation. But at any rate at least two of the "secrets" that formed the basis for the charges against the Rosenbergs were familiar to Soviet scientists in 1945.

VERDICT BY PASSION: Before the Rosenberg trial the government told the public it would produce as witnesses such top nuclear physicists as Oppenheimer and Urey, and wartime A-bomb project chief Lieut. Gen. Leslie Groves. None of them came to testify. Was it because they might have admitted that no "atomic secret" ever existed at all?

In any event the assumption that Soviet knowledge of the principles of nuclear fission and atomic explosion, published in detail in the Soviet press in 1945, could have resulted from "secrets" of the clumsy nature of former Los Alamos Sergeant David Greenglass' sketch in Judge Kaufman's court, is one that only an uninformed jury under the spell of a demagogic prosecution could accept.

That the jury may have been led to believe such a consequence possible is no warrant for Judge Kaufman's pronouncements or his death sentence. The U.S. Federal Court has advised its judges that

". . . The Court, if it is to be a Court of Justice, must never be arbitrary, capricious, or subject to the whims of popular passion.

Outside of lynch law there is probably no more appalling example in American memory of yielding to popular passion, in the face of judicial tradition and historical and scientific fact, than Judge Kaufman's death sentence on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for "putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb" and "causing the Communist aggression in Korea with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 Americans. . . ."

How crazy can you get dept.

If the Russians attack, Los Angeles housewives won't have to worry about dishwashing. Rr. Adm. Robert W. Berry announced on July 23: "Two million paper cups and containers have been stockpiled here in the event of enemy-caused disaster."

Adm. Berry gravely painted a picture of what might happen without an adequate supply of paper pie plates. Enemy bomb attack might disrupt water supplies making dishwashing impossible, he said.

Berry declared that he had carried the paper cup campaign forward himself, arranging with the Paper Cup and Container Institute Inc. to provide and place the stockpile at its own expense.

Daily People's World, San Francisco

(The GUARDIAN solicits short press items from any part of the U. S. suitable for publication under this heading. A gift sub, for yourself or a friend will be awarded for each item published. Mark envelope: "CRAZY DEPT.")

NEW YORK ELECTIONS

Isler, Mulzac candidacies give ALP best issues

LAST WEEK and this in New York, the American Labor Party devoted its energies to securing its party enrollment in an off-year registration. In New York City the closing registration days were Oct. 3-4-5 from 5-10:30 p.m. and Oct. 6 from 7 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. Upstate, in cities of 5,000 or more where personal registration is required, there was a little more time: Oct. 5-6 and 12, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m.; Oct. 13 7 a.m. to 10 p.m.; in farm villages and village areas of less than 5,000 population, Oct. 6, 10 am.. to 10 p.m., Oct. 13, 1 to 10 p.m.

In New York City, where the only citywide contest is the by-election for City Council President, ALP's next problem was to get its clubs moving behind a platform and candidates with the only positive aspects in the campaign.

McAVOY'S SUCCESS: Among the contestants for City Council, ALP's forceful Clifford McAvoy has already begun a brisk street-corner campaign, drawing lunchtime thousands in Manhatten's garment area.

McAvoy's sound-truck success stems from his outspoken position for peace now as the basic essential to good government and civic improvement; while his Liberal Party antagonist, Kefauver Committee counsel Rudolph Halley, has outraged his rank-and-file Liberal-Fusion following by becoming a star writer for Hearst's **Journal American** (along with Pegler and Sokolsky and Goebbels and Mussolini in their times). Halley's expensive weekly TV show was reported slipping, audiences now realizing that not he but gambler Frank Costello was the stellar attraction of the Kefauver Committee's television show last Spring.

McAvoy will appear on WOR-TV on Oct. 9, 8-8:30 p.m.; and Oct. 15, 7-7:30 p.m.

2 NEGRO CANDIDATES: In three of New York's five boroughs, the only Negro candidates for top office in the city were putting extra yeast into ALP's campaign.

In Queens popular Captain Hugh Mulzac, skipper of the famous Liberty Ship **Booker T. Washington** in World War II, is ALP's candidate for borough president.

In Manhattan and Bronx, noted lawyer Jacques Isler is making his second bid for the first Supreme Court seat for a Negro in American history.

Politically an independent, Isler ran for Supreme Court last year on the ALP line, intends to keep trying because

> "the principle of Negro participation in all levels of the judiciary is one which has got to end in ultimate victory."

A born New Yorker, Isler is 43, father of five children, a member of the National Bar Assn., Lawyers' Guild, a leader of the Harlem Lawyers' Assn. and a member of the NAACP. In his campaign last year, he was adjudged qualified by four of the six legal societies in Bronx and Manhattan.

JACQUES ISLER
Eminently qualified

The Bronx resolution, typical of others, said:

> Mr. Isler has had a very general practice, which has provided him with a great amount of trial and appellate experience. He has served as trial counsel to other members of the bar. A substantial portion of Mr. Isler's time has been devoted, without charge, in and out of courts, to activities and matters designed to improve the status of Negroes and to remove the vices of discrimination and prejudice. . . .

LILY-WHITE COURT: The First Judicial District, in which Isler is running against three otherwise unopposed candidates in a Tammany-Republican deal, covers Manhattan and Bronx, has 36 Supreme Court seats but no Negro has ever occupied one, although nearly one-fifth of the area population is non-white. ALP began to tackle the question of Negro representation in the N.Y. judiciary ten years ago, forcing selection of Francis E. Rivers to City Court in 1943 and last year Harold A. Stevens to the General Sessions bench.

This year not only ALP but a non-partisan committee of Democrats, Republicans and independents tried to win a nomination of a Negro from the old parties. The party of Lincoln was not in to the Committee. Tammany leader Carmine De Sapio was sympathetic but he could do nothing because a deal was on with the Republicans to back Gov. Dewey's longtime counsel Charles Breitel in return for Republican backing of Democrats Edward J. Glennon, Martin M. Frank and Irving Saypol (well-known to GUARDIAN readers as the witch-hunting prosecutor in the Rosenberg "atom spy" case).

A REAL CHANCE: When both old party conventions ultimately ignored the request for a Negro nomination, ALP nominated Isler.

In 1950, Isler led the ALP ticket in Manhattan-Bronx with 103,000 votes. This year he could do enormously better despite a possible low registration. With no other congressional state or municipal contest, ALP is in better shape to bring the Isler story to the voters, especially in Negro and Jewish communities. There Saypol's name should be mud—for his pillorying of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg as well as for his failure to appoint a single Negro among his 50-odd assistant federal district attorneys.

Alice in Dulles-land

"A Mad Treaty Party"

THE table was set up in the assembly hall, and the United States and the United Nations were making a treaty on it: Asia was sitting between them, ostensibly asleep, and the other two were using him as a cushion, resting their elbows on him, and talking over his head.

The table was a large one, but the three were crowded at one corner of it. "No room! No room!" they cried out when they saw Alice coming.

"There's plenty of room!" said Alice indignantly, sitting down.

"Have a signature," the United States said encouragingly.

Alice looked around the table. "I don't sign without having a voice in the thing," she remarked.

"There isn't any voice," said the United States.

"Then it wasn't very civil of you to offer a signature," said Alice angrily.

"It wasn't very civil of you to sit down after having been invited," said the United States.

"I didn't know it was YOUR table," said Alice; "it's set for 50."

"Let's talk riddles," said the United Nations.

—Mark Tuttle

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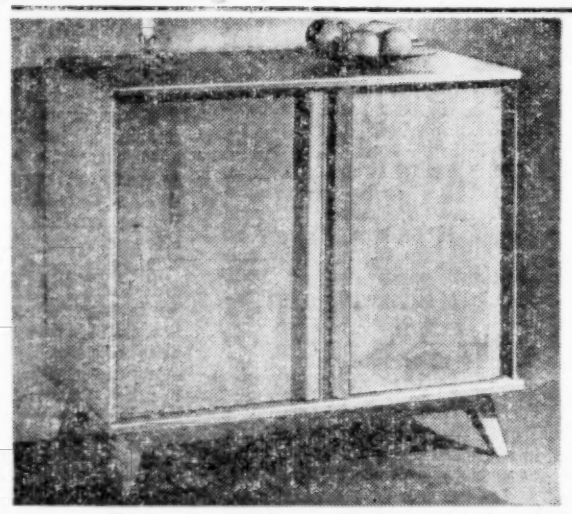

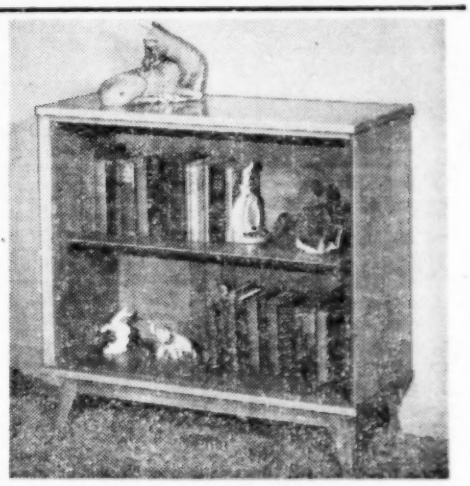

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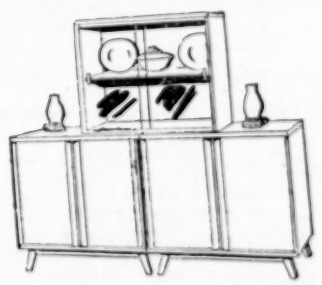
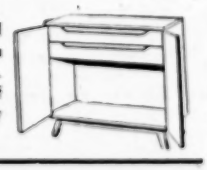
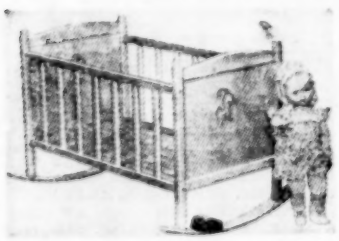




Above, suggested Chest and China Top combination. Right, interior of No. 51 Utility Chest.



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BOOKS

Times inspects an independent mind

By Cedric Belfrage

WHAT is an independent mind? Until the present darkness descended over American culture the question would hardly have posed itself; for while the brain of any commentator on man in society must be limited by the experience and activity of the body containing it, nobody would have flattered it by calling it a "mind" at all unless it functioned independently within these necessary limits.

By now, silent treatment by book-review editors, blacklisting by bookstores, economic intimidation and character assassination have reduced the species to a curiosity. One can therefore picture the embarrassment in that labyrinth of "intellectual" self-deception known as the **New York Times Book Review** when a book of social comment and philosophy called **The Independent Mind** came in from the publishers, and proved on inspection to be indeed the product of a mind which is independent.

CORLISS LAMONT
The welfare of others

"LET'S BE FAIR": What—the college of critical cardinals must have asked itself—is the matter with Corliss Lamont? Is he not the Harvard- and Oxford-educated son of a Morgan partner? Why then is he not in bed with Budenz, and with the rest of us who treat the Budenzes with solemn respect, whooping in one way or another for mass murder? Why does he denounce the whole philosophy of hate, cynicism and unreason and stand up for the pursuit of peace, happiness and truth? How does this banker's philosopher son have the gall to describe our "National Emergency," "The Free World" and "Soviet Aggression" as "myths"? And yet—since he is also critical of some aspects of the Soviet Union—may not the soul of this important heretic yet be saved?

The decision must have been reached that hope still flickers: for an entire page of the **Book Review** was assigned for an exercise in "fairness" about Lamont (printed in symbolic juxtaposition with a three-column review of Elizabeth Bentley's **Out of Bondage**). "A fair hearing for Lamont," gallantly writes Peter Viereck, author of **Conservatism Revisited,** who drew the assignment,

> . . . owes him the courtesy of presenting his own picture of his position and not only our perhaps biased interpretation of it.

LOGIC A LA TIMES: Viereck proceeds to divide Lamont in half, praising his "pastoral" essays on the appreciation of nature and ridiculing his politics, especially his critical but friendly defense ("Is this meant as a bad joke?") of the Progressive Party:

> Mr. Lamont's political essays are so fantastic they are not even wrong; they enter a science-fiction universe of meta-wrongness.

For an insight into the cerebral apparatus which the **Book Review** assigned to "analyze" Lamont's politics and try to save his poor progressive soul, only one quotation is necessary:

> His indictment of the Nazis is splendid. Logically it ought to range him on "our side." . . . "Our side" in this context means the humane side, the free Atlantic Pact side, that civilized Vital Center which first stopped Hitlerite fascism and now is stopping Stalinist fascism.

Main hope for his salvation is based on Lamont's condemnation of "the North Korean march southward" in June, 1950. This, Viereck feels, may well be a "minor and tactical deviation" from the "Party Line"; but on the other hand it might—cross fingers, everyone, and rub that rabbit's foot—"portend a major future break like Henry Wallace's." This is the genteel way of saying that Lamont cannot be the independent thinker he claims to be about the socialist world, since "we know" everything about it is bad; he must be either a Macchiavellian party-liner or at best a dupe, and he is being given a last chance to prove himself the latter by hopping into the "free world" bed with the boys who know what the score is.

THE QUIRK OF ALTRUISM: One essay in Lamont's book, **The Motivation of Dissenters**—with which Viereck deals by the old technique of looking the other way—explodes the whole balloon, filling the air briefly with the stale spearmint-flavored gas whereby it was inflated. In that essay Lamont tries, with the unfailing patience that permeates his arguments for a return to reason, to explain how a progressive mind gets that way. He writes:

> Conservatives and defenders of the status quo, ever hard-pressed in finding logical arguments to support their position . . . claim that those who dissent . . . must be impelled by some sort of personal neurosis or psychological complex. Such misguided individuals have, it is argued, an Oedipus complex, an inferiority complex, a publicity complex, a martyr complex or a revolt-against-authority complex. They were either unhappy or neglected as children, they experienced disastrous love affairs . . . or they became maladjusted or unsuccessful in their work. . . . The prevailing view that all normal people must function on the basis of self-interest, and especially financial self-interest, makes it tempting to equate social idealism with peculiar quirks in the personality. . . . [But] I am convinced that genuine altruism, a regard for the welfare of others, ca[n] be and is the dominant element in much human moti[va]tion.

Obsessed by theological abstractions humorously known as "religion," the **Times** literary cardinalate cannot accept so simple a statement of fundamental ethics coming from a man who rejects supernatural religion. Yet this is of course the motivation of every mature progressive whether he is religious in the standard sense or not—the progressive "soul," if you like, now daily more under siege as the dark forces he fights seek by every means to wean him away to the "respectable" motivation of financial self-interest.

PROGRESSIVE TOLERANCE: What is also impossible for the **Times** world to understand is that while plenty of intolerance does exist on the Left, it is tolerance **within reason**—that is, tolerance of differences honestly believed, within the framework of the general good ideal—that is typical of progressives. The best example we know of this is the friendly relation existing from the outset between Corliss Lamont and the GUARDIAN, with many of whose particular views (e.g., on the origins of the Korean War) he disagrees.

Seeing, as the **Times** cannot, that the "pastoral" and the political Lamont are a whole person defying Viereck's or anybody else's dissection; recognizing his mind as a truly independent one seeking truth and subject to persuasion by reason, we anticipate more friendly arguments but no "major future break." We think he feels the same way about us; and warmly recommending his book to our readers, we urge them to read it as he would like it read—with an independent and critical mind.

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